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Understanding ASIA

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A non-partisan international organization for the study of Far Eastern problems

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Understanding Asia

FIVE YEARS after the end of World War II, American troops were again fighting in Asia. The United States had spent huge sums—some said, not enough—in an unsuccessful effort to keep China from going Communist. In Japan, an American occupation force was trying to reform and rebuild the country, while the United States sustained its economy at a heavy cost to American taxpayers. American funds and American advice had been poured into the Philippines. American aid was going to Formosa, to Indochina and other countries of southeastern Asia.

Finally, in June 1950 the North Korean aggression touched off an international crisis that shook the United States to its foundations and plunged it into a fever of rearmament, accompanied by measures of military and economic mobilization affecting every American home.

Americans Face Grave Decisions in Asia

Clearly, the United States has become deeply involved not only in the international relations, but also in the domestic affairs of a vast continent which contains half the population of the globe and is now passing through a period of profound revolutionary upheaval.

What does all this mean? How does it happen that our traditional friends, the Chinese, are now aligned against us while we are talking of rearming our former enemies, the Japanese? Are American policies in Asia right or wrong, sound or unsound?

Does the United States have a policy at all? Such questions have been hotly debated in Congress, the press and public forums throughout the land. Even at the highest levels of government, conflicting counsels seem to prevail. The responsible citizen who wishes to form his own judgment on the tremendous issues facing the United States in Asia finds himself — to put it mildly — confused.

Policy-makers and ordinary citizens alike are the victims of generations of neglect of Asia in our schools and universities, which is reflected in our newspapers and magazines. Our ancestors, most of them, came from Europe, and throughout our national history we have been more interested in Europe than in Asia. We find Europe easier to understand, easier to deal with. But now we find ourselves deeply involved in Asia, where formulas developed for Europe will seldom work.

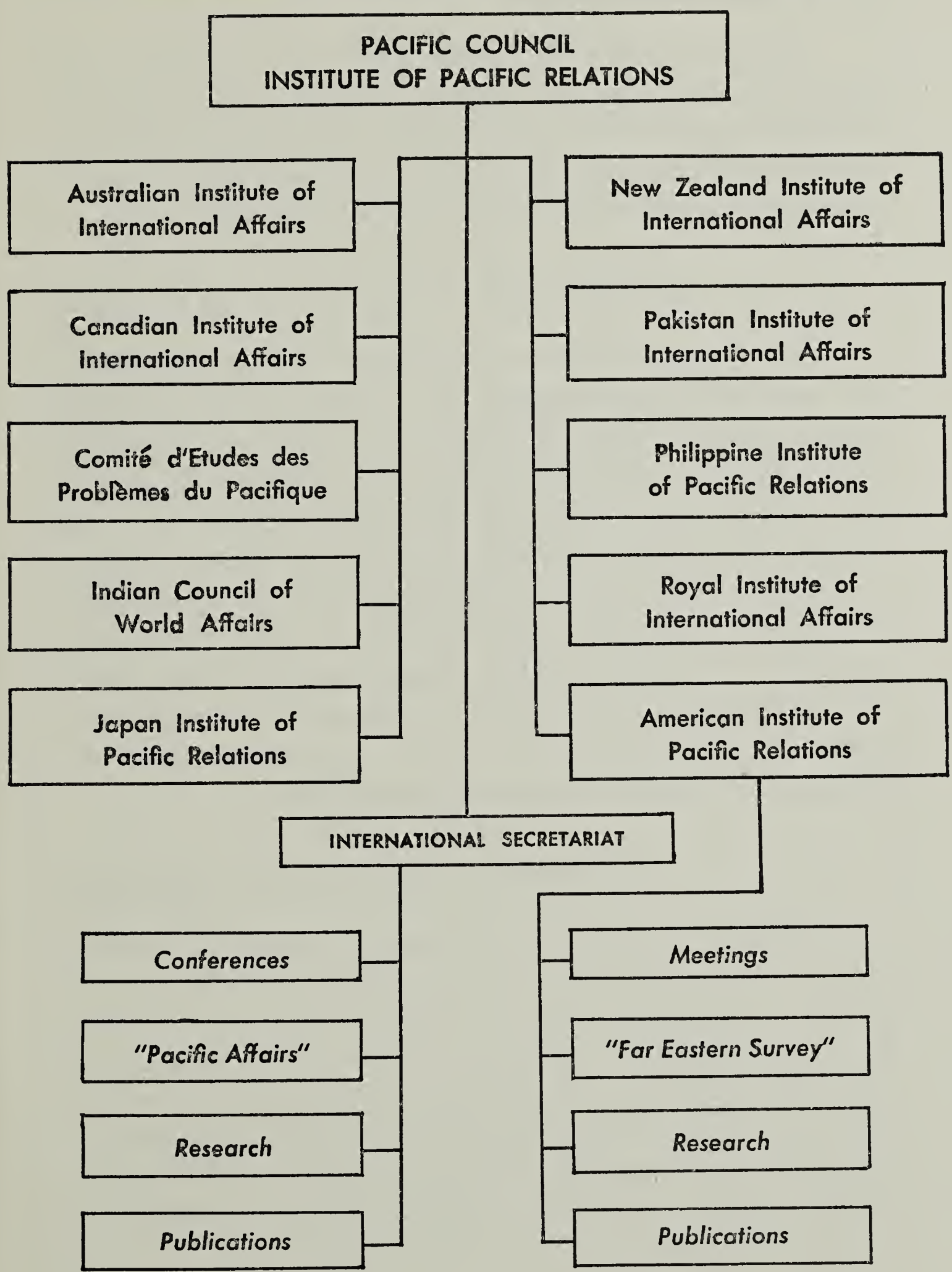
There Is No Substitute for Knowledge

Opinions differ on what is the best policy, but no policy will succeed that is based upon ignorance of the countries we are dealing with. No business man would launch a new undertaking without a thorough survey of market possibilities, costs, taxes, labor supply, and other factors affecting the success of the enterprise. Similarly in foreign policy, there is no substitute for knowledge and hard-headed appraisal of the conditions and attitudes we must cope with. As America faces Asia today, its great need is not for more ringing slogans but for more solid facts and calm, cool analysis.

Twenty-six Years of Fact-finding in Asia

To meet this need, there exists a unique private international organization, the Institute of Pacific Relations, which for twenty-six years has devoted itself to careful study and dispas-

ORGANIZATION OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS



sionate analysis of contemporary events in Asia and the basic forces which underlie them.

Founded in 1925, the Institute today is an association composed of independent, non-partisan societies in ten countries: Australia, Canada, France, Great Britain, India, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and the United States. A small International Secretariat is maintained in New York.

A Non-partisan Body: No Axes to Grind

Each National Council is autonomous, with its own distinctive organization and program. All of them, however, are non-official, and are devoted to research, discussion and publication on the political, economic and diplomatic problems of the Far East and the Pacific. They are not "action" organizations, and neither they nor the Institute as a whole ever advocate policies or seek to promote any one political point of view. They stand for objective fact-finding, free discussion in which many viewpoints are represented, and the dissemination of reliable, up-to-date information on contemporary problems. They are not controlled by their governments, nor do they seek to lobby or influence the execution of government policies.

IPR Program: Research plus Discussion

The National Councils of the Institute are privately financed, mostly from membership fees, corporation gifts, foundation grants and sales of publications. Each council contributes funds to maintain the International Secretariat, which also receives special foundation grants for administrative work and for research. The international research program is an extensive one, to which private scholars and institutions in many countries contribute. Besides a great variety of scholarly books, the Institute publishes an international quarterly review, *Pacific Affairs.*

IPR FINANCES

The work of the international Institute of Pacific Relations is financed principally by contributions from its National Councils and by grants from foundations. In the twenty-six years from 1925 through 1950 total receipts amounted to $2,569,000, an average of about $100,000 a year. Of this total, 48 per cent came from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, 40 per cent from the National Councils, 9 per cent from sales of publications, and 3 per cent from miscellaneous sources. The American IPR contributed 29 per cent of the total receipts, the British and Canadian National Councils 3 per cent each, the China Council 2 per cent, and the Japanese Council one per cent; the eight other National Councils each contributed less than one per cent. Thus United States sources, including foundations, supplied 77 per cent of the organization's income. If grants to the American IPR are included, the contribution of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation to the work of the IPR through 1950 totals $2,176,000. In 1950 the Rockefeller Foundation voted a new grant of $50,000 to the international Institute and $60,000 to the American IPR.

The American Institute of Pacific Relations derives its funds from membership subscriptions, gifts from individuals and corporations, and grants from foundations. From 1925 through 1950 its total net income was $2,536,000, of which 50 per cent came from foundations (chiefly the Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation and Carnegie Endowment), 33 per cent from individual and corporate contributions, 12 per cent from sales of publications, and 5 per cent from miscellaneous sources. Leading contributors to the American IPR today include the Standard-Vacuum Oil Co., International General Electric Co., National City Bank, Chase National Bank, Bankers Trust Co., International Business Machines Corp., International Telephone and Telegraph Co., Electric Bond and Share Co., and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Lever Brothers (London) is a major contributor to the international IPR.

Every two or three years the National Councils participate in the regular international conferences of the IPR, the latest of which was held in Lucknow, India, in October 1950. The councils also hold conferences and study groups in their own countries, conduct research, and publish books and pamphlets. Several of them issue their own journals; the American Institute publishes a fortnightly magazine, the *Far Eastern Survey.*

How the IPR Began

In 1925, when the Institute of Pacific Relations was founded, the need for greater knowledge and understanding of Asia, so apparent today, was realized by only a few far-sighted people. The period was one of bitter and growing friction between Asia and the West, caused not only by conflicting political and economic interests but also by racial antagonisms. In 1924 Congress had passed the Oriental Exclusion Act, which wounded Asian sensibilities and aroused anti-American feelings. In China, the Nationalist revolution was growing stronger, and anti-foreignism directed at the Western countries was widespread.

Aware of this gulf and anxious to explore means of bridging it, a group of men and women conceived the idea of holding a non-official conference of leaders in private life in different Pacific countries to discuss problems of mutual concern. Many of this original group were men who had worked with the YMCA in Pacific countries. The conference met in Honolulu in July 1925. Its 150 members—from Hawaii and the American mainland, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Canada, Australia and New Zealand—represented many diverse backgrounds and attitudes. But they had one belief in common—that if they could get together for friendly, frank discussion of the problems existing among their countries, these problems might prove to be less thorny than they seemed.

At this first conference, as at all IPR meetings since, dis-

cussion centered on current controversial issues—in this case, the question of racial tensions and the problem of China's relations with the West. In spite of plain speaking, the atmosphere was friendly, and all present expressed their support of the conference idea by urging the formation of a permanent organization. This was the origin of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

A central office was set up in Honolulu under the direction of a committee of representatives of the participating national groups in the United States, Australia, Canada, China, Great Britain, Japan and New Zealand. Each of these constituent founding groups—like those which later joined the Institute—has kept its non-official character and independence of action. The Institute's first chairman, President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford University, resigned from his Institute office when he was appointed to the Hoover cabinet, believing that if the Institute were headed by a government official, misconceptions as to its purely private character might arise. Thus a tradition was established, and the Institute has always maintained its freedom of inquiry and discussion as a private organization.

Conferences: Informal Give and Take

The "IPR conference technique," originated at Honolulu in 1925 and developed at later conferences, basically simple though it is, was quite new at the time. Unlike the traditional type of conference, IPR meetings are given over largely to round-table discussions, with few formal addresses. The keynote is interchange of views—give and take on an informal basis—through group discussion. Members can speak freely, for the press is not admitted. Dr. Ralph Bunche, the distinguished United Nations official who has since received the Nobel Peace Prize, attended his first international conference as a member of the American group at the Eighth IPR Conference at Mont Tremblant, Canada, in 1942. He recently said: "Although I have participated in a

great many international conferences since, I have never experienced a more profitable one than the Mont Tremblant Conference, or one that was better conducted."

The members of the first Honolulu conference quickly discovered that they lacked many basic facts about the peoples, economic resources, international trade and politics of the area. At that time, little research had been done on these subjects. Without knowledge of the facts, intelligent discussion was often impossible.

The International Research Program

This led to the inauguration by the IPR of a continuing research program, which subsequently received generous support from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. Since 1925 the IPR has completed or helped others to complete a very large number of studies of Asia and the Pacific area, ranging over history, politics, economics, sociology and other subjects. Among the broad fields of study covered by the Institute are population problems, land tenure, agricultural techniques, industrialization of Eastern countries, the family, colonial administration, nationalist movements, labor problems, international politics, and international trade and investment. About two hundred and twenty books have been published under IPR auspices, in addition to several hundred pamphlets, data papers and other smaller studies.

Diverse as these projects have been, all have broken new ground and filled gaps in existing knowledge. Fifteen years after the start of the research program, the Rockefeller Foundation described the IPR as "the most important single source of independent studies of the problems of the Pacific area and the Far East."

From the outset, the guiding principle of the research program has been to enable qualified scholars to collect facts

and interpret their meaning, but not to advocate policies to be pursued by governments. The men and women chosen to prepare these studies have been selected for their scholarly competence and special knowledge. Their work has been carefully edited to make sure that it measured up to high standards of scholarship. But IPR writers have been left free to interpret their material as they saw fit. They have not been required to follow any "line" or to conform to any particular school of economic or political thought. On the contrary, care has been taken to select scholars representing different nationalities and different points of view.

The Institute is not an intelligence agency, and has never claimed to have special access to information that was not available to anyone who had the patience to spend weeks, months or years collecting it in the field or in the library. Often the IPR has been able to collect and put into usable shape information that was available in scattered form but ignored because its importance was not generally recognized until there was a sudden need for it. Again and again, as the pace of events in Asia has quickened, teachers, editors, business men and government officials here and abroad have turned to the IPR, not for opinions, but for facts—basic facts which, they were surprised to discover, were not readily available elsewhere.

Keeping Ahead of the Headlines

For example, before Japanese troops marched into Manchuria in 1931, thus providing the "curtain raiser" for the Pacific war, there had been little public interest in Manchuria as a possible danger zone. As early as 1928, however, in line with its policy of seeking the facts underlying international friction, the Institute had arranged for several large studies of Manchurian problems by Chinese, Japanese and Western experts. The published results provided the groundwork for discussion at the Institute's Kyoto conference in 1929. Later, they helped

to inform world opinion as well as League of Nations officials, who, when the crisis was suddenly upon them and information was needed quickly, relied in considerable measure on IPR studies in sizing up the issues at stake. This was only the first of several times that the IPR has focused its fact-finding machinery on areas of unrest or on dangerous problems before they broke into the headlines.

The outbreak of the Manchurian crisis, a few days before an IPR conference was to convene in China, threatened to disrupt the Institute's program in mid-course. So firm, however, was the belief in the Institute method of inquiry and discussion on controversial questions that the conference was in fact held, with full Chinese and Japanese groups in attendance. The decision to hold the Shanghai conference in spite of extremely difficult circumstances provided a lead for IPR officers to follow when, in 1937, full-scale war broke out between China and Japan.

Japan's War in China: Challenge to the IPR

This event posed a sharp challenge to the Institute. From one point of view, the Sino-Japanese war seemed to make a mockery of the previous efforts of the organization, dedicated as they had been to improving the mutual relations of the Pacific peoples. Some persons connected with the Institute questioned whether it could continue its program of cooperative international research and conferences in the face of open conflict between two countries represented in it. Such voices were in a minority. From the beginning, the IPR had chosen to face controversial issues; it had taken for its major province those very areas in which emotion and prejudice were most prevalent and in which fact-finding and promotion of mutual understanding might be most useful. The Institute believed that it might helpfully illuminate the issues which had led to the war, and thus assist in making possible a lasting peace settlement.

FORMER CHAIRMEN, AMERICAN IPR

1925-28	Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, former U. S. Secretary of the Interior and President, Stanford University
1929-32	Jerome D. Greene, former partner, Lee, Higginson and Co.
1932-35	Newton D. Baker, former U. S. Secretary of War
1935-38	Dr. Carl L. Alsberg, former Director, Food Research Institute, Stanford University
1939-40	Dr. Philip C. Jessup, Professor of International Law, Columbia University; later U. S. Ambassador at Large
1940-41	Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur
1942-48	Dr. Robert G. Sproul, President, University of California
1948-49	Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur

Less than six months after the Japanese attack in 1937, the IPR had launched an objective, systematic inquiry into the issues that might be expected to confront the governments and peoples of the Pacific as a result of the conflict. This project was aided by a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, and was supported by all of the IPR National Councils except the Japanese. In the next years, numerous volumes—many of which are still definitive in their fields—on the background and probable consequences of the Sino-Japanese war appeared as part of the IPR "Inquiry Series."

The years immediately before the Pacific war were a testing time for the IPR. But its program of conferences, research and publications continued to expand and to enter new areas of inquiry. By December 1941, the Institute had reinforced its reputation as the foremost private center of Far Eastern and Pacific studies in the world.

It should be emphasized, however, that the IPR has never tried to monopolize the field of Far Eastern studies. On the contrary, it has worked unceasingly to stimulate and encourage research by others. In the United States it has prodded universities to build up their Far Eastern departments, and has done much to promote more and better teaching about the Far East in American schools and colleges. In Asian countries the IPR has played a large role in stimulating the development of social and international studies on modern, scientific lines. The Institute itself has never maintained a large research staff, but has "farmed out" the bulk of its research projects to scholars of many different nationalities.

East-West Contact: A Two-way Channel

To most Westerners the IPR is important as a source of reliable and up-to-date information on Asian countries. But it is more than that. It is a two-way instrument of communication. Because of its international character it has brought together a notable community of influential citizens from many countries and given them an understanding of how their own countries' policies and attitudes are viewed through the eyes of other peoples. That kind of understanding is all too rare and was never more needed than today. Americans in particular, now that the United States is shouldering vast new international responsibilities, need to know and understand, even if they cannot always accept, the ways in which their policies and actions are interpreted by Asian peoples, whether they are friendly as in the Philippines, or hostile as in China. In the words of the first chairman of the Institute, the late Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, "to view your own country through the questioning eyes of foreign neighbors is a chastening and wholesome experience that millions must undergo if we are to deal successfully across the great ocean."

The outbreak of the Pacific war introduced the most eventful period in IPR history. For the American IPR, particularly, the war years were busy and fruitful ones.

In the United States, the American IPR had for years been almost alone in drawing attention to the inadequacy of American knowledge of Asia and in seeking to remedy that weakness. It had steadily chipped away at the wall of ignorance and apathy which marked the traditional American attitude toward Asia. The Institute was well aware that its efforts, necessarily limited by its resources, had only begun to make an impression on the national scene. Yet its reputation had grown steadily over the years, and when the United States found itself at war with Japan, both government agencies and the public turned to the IPR for assistance of many kinds.

American IPR Services in War Time

There was, first, a pressing need for factual information about the part of the world into which the United States had now to send troops and supplies. IPR publications were in great demand—some fifty volumes were published in 1941-42 alone—and not only published but unpublished materials were placed at the disposal of government agencies. In addition, popular pamphlets, designed to present accurate information about Pacific countries in clear and simple language, were not only widely used by schools and adult education groups, but were used in large quantities by the armed forces in orientation courses for service men. More than three quarters of a million of these were purchased by the Army and Navy.

Although many private organizations felt it impossible to hold international conferences in war time, the IPR did not neglect its original function. Twice during the war years—at Mont-Tremblant in Canada in 1942, and at Hot Springs, Virginia, in 1945—delegates from a dozen or more countries met

together to review the activities of the Institute and to discuss the probable consequences of the Pacific war.

Paving the Way for the United Nations

The Mont Tremblant conference was especially notable in that it provided, in 1942, a preview of major post-war issues which were to become crucial by 1945—particularly the future of European colonies in Asia, and the question of collective security. No IPR conference has better demonstrated the value of informal, off-the-record discussion, by influential private citizens from many countries, of issues that would later be discussed by statesmen at official diplomatic gatherings. In this way the discussions at Mont Tremblant helped to pave the way for the 1945 conference at San Francisco that drafted the Charter of the United Nations.

Those who had worked with the IPR in earlier years regarded the hectic activity of the war period with mixed feelings. On the one hand, they keenly regretted that the Institute had not been more successful in arousing the American public to a greater awareness of how dangerous it might be to ignore Asian affairs. On the other hand, they derived satisfaction from the knowledge that, in a time of national emergency, the past performance of the Institute had prepared it to make a contribution to the war effort which, in the words of an award presented to it by the United States Navy, represented "exceptional accomplishment."

War Ends: New Problems Arise

The end of the fighting brought neither peace nor stability to Asia. On the contrary, new forces released by the war created a whole new set of problems. Many former colonies—India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines — demanded and

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American Council
Institute of Pacific Relations

IN RECOGNITION OF EXCEPTIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENT IN BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND OF MERITORIOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATIONAL WAR EFFORT

(Signed) H. STRUVE HENSEL
Assistant Secretary of the Navy

November 8, 1945

secured their independence from Western control. In China, the war with Japan had hardly ended when a bitter civil conflict broke out. In Japan, a peaceful revolution was launched under American auspices. Throughout Asia, people were demanding not only national independence, but also the betterment of their lives. Here was a fertile field for Communist agitation. And in international politics, Asia as well as Europe was rent by the "cold war."

The newly independent states of Asia were determined to be masters in their own houses and to play a positive role in world affairs. This made difficult problems for the Western countries which still had important economic as well as political interests in Asia. The desire of Asian countries for rapid economic development created new opportunities for Western trade

and investment, but also new risks for Western business men. The new nations, lacking experience and resources, needed Western aid, but were suspicious of anything that smacked of Western control. The interests of both demanded that the Western and Asian countries work out a new relationship, but the process was complicated and difficult.

Both in Asia and in the West, these new and complex problems were often made the subject of appeals to prejudice and emotion. Recognizing that such appeals have most impact where ignorance of the facts is greatest, the Institute of Pacific Relations has made a special effort in the post-war period to focus attention on these controversial but vital issues.

Cool Study of Hot Issues

Thus, while continuing to deal, as always, with the long-term social and economic problems of Asia, the Institute has also given its attention to the new forces of nationalism, to the problems of readjusting relations between Asia and the West, to developments in the increasingly important areas of south and southeast Asia, to the future of Japan in Asia, and to contemporary events in China. It has devoted its two post-war conferences—at Stratford, England, in 1947 and in Lucknow, India, in 1950—to discussion of these topics, has applied objective scholarship to them in its research program, and has continued to make its publications available as a forum for the expression of diverse but informed views on problems of the day.

In 1947 the Institute broadened the scope of its activity to include southern Asia, thus embracing the new nations of India and Pakistan. In both of these countries there are now IPR councils participating in the international research and conference program. When the Communists conquered mainland China in 1949, the American IPR quickly realized that relations between the United States and India would become increasingly

IPR LEADERS IN AMERICA

Prominent Americans who have actively aided in the work of the IPR

WALLACE M. ALEXANDER, former President, Alexander and Baldwin
FRANK C. ATHERTON, former President, Castle and Cooke, Ltd.
CARROLL BINDER, Editor, *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*
PEARL S. BUCK, Author
RALPH J. BUNCHE, Director, Division of Trusteeship, United Nations
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CHESTER H. ROWELL, former Editor, *San Francisco Chronicle*
JAMES T. SHOTWELL, former President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
QUINCY WRIGHT, Professor of International Law, University of Chicago
ADMIRAL HARRY E. YARNELL, former Commander, U. S. Asiatic Fleet

significant in the years immediately ahead. In December 1949, therefore, the Indian and American units of the Institute held a special conference in Delhi to explore relations between their two countries and to promote mutual understanding and research on problems of common interest.

Non-Communist Asia and the West

The most recent international conference of the Institute, held in Lucknow, India, in October 1950, centered on the consequences of Asian nationalism and on the adjustment of relations between non-Communist Asia and the West. Held in the shadow of the Korean war, the conference attracted wide attentoin by its plain speaking on the divisive issues impeding such an adjustment. In some ways the conference anticipated the issues which were to assume such importance in the subsequent United Nations debates on Korea, and again underscored the importance of informal discussion as an adjunct to diplomatic negotiation. As one Canadian newspaper remarked, the conference "brought to light a series of differences that will have to be bridged by understanding and cooperation, if working arrangements between the Asian countries and the Western nations are to be established."

Research Keeps Abreast of Events

Many questions about the nature and significance to America of Asia's post-war upheaval remain to be answered before such understanding and cooperation can become a reality. How far has the Allied occupation of Japan been successful? What is Communist China's role in world affairs? What determines the Indian position in the struggle between East and West? How stable are the new governments of southeast Asia?

In the conviction that intelligent opinions about such ques-

tions can be formed only on the basis of accurate information, the IPR continues to push forward its research program, adapting it to new needs and new opportunities. On the subject of post-war Japan, for example, more than a dozen expert studies have been or will soon be published — on Japanese political and social reorganization, nationalism, Communism, economic development, agriculture, labor problems and so forth. Several studies of the origins and development of Asian Communist movements and their relations with the Soviet Union are in print or in process of completion. India's political and economic development, and the basis of its relations with both Asia and the West, are the subjects of several major reports which venture into new areas of inquiry. In the case of southeast Asia, IPR books on various aspects of contemporary Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, Indochina and the Philippines constitute the most comprehensive public collection of factual analyses of the area available anywhere. The IPR book list is thus not only broad-based and authoritative, but also abreast of the times.

The IPR Record

Looking back, therefore, on its first quarter century, the Institute may reasonably believe that the high hopes of its founders have been in considerable measure fulfilled. The IPR stands on its record, a record which scholars and leaders in many fields the world over have helped to build, often in the face of discouraging obstacles.

There have been times when extremist groups, misunderstanding the Institute's non-partisan approach to the problems of Asia, have criticized it for not following one or another "line" which they happened to advocate themselves. Regardless of charges and counter-charges from partisan sources, the IPR continues to follow the path of non-partisan inquiry, supporting no "causes," but seeking to provide the facts upon which free

discussion in a democracy must be based. Its aims remain as they were described in a statement adopted by the American IPR in 1939:

Freedom of Scientific Inquiry

"The Institute of Pacific Relations was founded for the purpose of promoting scientific investigation and rational discussion of the conditions and mutual relations of the peoples of the Pacific area. It follows from this that if the Institute is to fulfill the purpose for which it was founded, its work must at all times be based on strict adherence to the principles of (1) complete freedom of scientific inquiry, (2) broad hospitality to all points of view, whether national or international, but subservience to none, and (3) democratic procedure in the conduct of its internal affairs.

"These principles of freedom of thought, intellectual toleration and the democratic process on which the Institute is founded are today under attack in all parts of the world. It is, indeed, largely owing to their progressive weakening that international affairs have degenerated into their present chaotic and dangerous condition. The Institute, however, sees no occasion for adopting the counsel of despair. On the contrary, it believes that the present situation calls for emphatic reassertion and wider practical application of these principles. It is firmly convinced that no durable solution of the problems now besetting international society can be found except through scientific study and dispassionate analysis of social phenomena. To believe otherwise would, in its view, be to deny the Institute of Pacific Relations its justification for existence."

The IPR invites the support of all who share this view, and who believe that Asia is important to the United States and to the Western world today.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Its Membership, Structure and Activities

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS is an unofficial, international, non-partisan association of private national societies in ten countries located in or having interests in the Pacific area. Its object, as stated in its constitution, is "to study the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations."

NATIONAL COUNCILS

The Institute in 1951 consists of the following autonomous National Councils:

American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Australian Institute of International Affairs, 177 Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia

Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 230 Bloor Street, West, Toronto, Canada

Comité d'Etudes des Problèmes du Pacifique, 54 rue de Varenne, Paris VII, France

Indian Council of World Affairs, Kashi House, Connaught Place, New Delhi, India

Japan Institute of Pacific Relations, Room 602, Mitsui Sango-kan, 2-chome, Muromachi, Nihonbashi, Tokyo, Japan

New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 59 Friend St., Karori, Wellington, New Zealand

Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Frere Hall, Karachi, Pakistan

Philippine Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, State Building, Rizal Avenue, Manila, P. I.

Royal Institute of International Affairs, 10, St. James's Square, London, S.W. 1, England

The China Council, an original member of the Institute, ceased to be active after the Communists came to power in China, and in 1950 terminated its membership in the Institute. The Netherlands-

Netherlands Indies Council was dissolved in 1949 on the establishment of Indonesian independence. The Soviet Council, which was formed in 1934 but had been inactive for many years, was reported by the Soviet press to have been dissolved in 1950. The Japan Council, which was dissolved during the war, was subsequently reorganized and was readmitted to membership in 1949.

THE PACIFIC COUNCIL

The international governing body of the Institute is the Pacific Council, consisting of one member appointed by each National Council, together with an international Chairman, Chairmen of Committees on Research, Program and Finance, and a Secretary General, who are elected by the other members of the Pacific Council. The present Chairman of the Pacific Council is Arthur H. Dean, of Sullivan and Cromwell, New York. Former Pacific Council Chairmen are listed below:

1925-1929 Ray Lyman Wilbur (United States), former Secretary of the Interior
1929-1933 Jerome D. Greene (United States), former member of the firm of Lee, Higginson and Company
1933-1936 Hon. Newton D. Baker (United States), former U. S. Secretary of War
1936-1939 J. W. Dafoe (Canada), former Editor, Winnipeg *Free Press*
1939-1942 Philip C. Jessup (United States), Professor of International Law, Columbia University
1942-1945 Edgar J. Tarr (Canada), former President, Monarch Life Assurance Company
1945-1947 Percy E. Corbett (Canada), Professor of Government, Yale University
1947-1950 Huntington Gilchrist (United States), American Cyanamid Company

The present Research Chairman is Sir George Sansom, formerly of the British diplomatic service, now Director of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University. Previous Research Chairmen were: Dr. James T. Shotwell, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Professor Charles P. Howland of Yale University; Dr. Carl L. Alsberg of the Food Research Institute, Stanford University; and Professor J. B. Condliffe of the University of California.

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

A small International Secretariat operates under the direction of the Pacific Council. Located in Honolulu until 1933, it now has its headquarters in New York. The Secretariat maintains liaison among the National Councils to coordinate their activities, and administers the extensive international research program under the direction of the International Research Committee. It also publishes *Pacific Affairs,* an international quarterly review, and the *Far East Digest,* a monthly digest of periodical articles from many countries. The present Secretary General, William L. Holland, has held this office since 1946. His predecessors were Edward C. Carter (1933-1946), Charles F. Loomis (acting, 1930-1933), and J. Merle Davis (1927-1929).

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Since 1925 the Institute has held international conferences at two-year or three-year intervals. The conference membership, consisting of delegates chosen by the National Councils, is usually around a hundred, exclusive of observers from other international organizations such as the United Nations, and of conference staff. Conferences usually last about twelve days. The agenda are carefully prepared, and copious documentation is provided in the form of data papers compiled in advance by the National Councils and the International Secretariat. Summaries of the conference discussions have been published, up to 1939 under the series title *Problems of the Pacific,* and later under individual titles for each volume. Eleven conferences have been held, as follows:

1. Honolulu, Hawaii, 1925
2. Honolulu, Hawaii, 1927
3. Kyoto, Japan, 1929
4. Shanghai, China, 1931
5. Banff, Canada, 1933
6. Yosemite, California, 1936
7. Virginia Beach, Virginia, 1939
8. Mont Tremblant, Canada, 1942
9. Hot Springs, Virginia, 1945
10. Stratford, England, 1947
11. Lucknow, India, 1950

INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

The research projects and publications of the Institute cover a wide range of subjects, geographical areas and points of view. They include a series of basic factual studies on the agriculture, natural resources, industry, trade and population of Far Eastern countries. They also include studies on historical, geographical and sociological topics and on diplo-

matic relations in the Pacific. Finally, there are numerous general surveys of specific countries or areas in the Far East. Besides these basic publications, the Institute has produced numerous timely studies of current political or economic problems, every effort being made to see that these conform to scholarly and objective standards.

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

Among the many research projects now in progress the following are of special importance. (A complete list of studies in progress is available from the International Secretariat.)

WESTERN ENTERPRISE AND FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION. By G. C. Allen and Miss A. G. Donnithorne.

NATIONALISM IN THE POST-WAR FAR EAST. By W. Macmahon Ball.

CHINA'S RESPONSE TO THE WEST. Edited by John K. Fairbank.

SOVIET FAR EASTERN POLICY SINCE YALTA. By Max Beloff and J. Frankel.

AMERICAN POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Lawrence S. Finkelstein.

EXPERIMENTS IN INDEPENDENCE. By J. S. Furnivall. An appraisal of political self-rule in Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand.

THE MODERN INDIAN BUSINESS CLASS. By D. R. Gadgil and others.

A JAPANESE URBAN COMMUNITY: FUKAYA. By Andrew J. Grad.

FRANCE AND VIETNAM. By Ellen J. Hammer. A survey of post-war political and economic developments and French policies in Indochina.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARD THE PHILIPPINES. By Shirley Jenkins. A post-war survey.

A SHORT SURVEY OF FAR EASTERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1937-49. By F. C. Jones.

NATIONALISM AND POLITICS IN INDONESIA. By George McT. Kahin.

MODERN FORMOSA. By George H. Kerr.

AMERICA AND THE FAR EAST. By Kenneth S. Latourette.

MONGOL NATIONALISM. By Owen Lattimore and associates.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN JAPAN, 1868-1950. By William W. Lockwood.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Victor Purcell.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE FAR EAST AND THE PACIFIC. By V. K. R. V. Rao and B. Ganguli.

RURAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE PHILIPPINES. By Joseph E. Spencer.

Politics and Economics in Communist China. By S. B. Thomas.
The South Seas in Transition. By W. E. H. Stanner.
Japanese Communism. By Rodger Swearingen and Paul Langer.
The Rise of Japan's Modern Business Class. By Takao Tsuchiya.
Problems of Public Administration in Asia: Burma, by F. S. V. Donnison; Ceylon, by Sir Charles Collins; Malaya, by S. W. Jones; Hongkong, by Sir Charles Collins; Thailand, by W. D. Reeve.
The Multi-Racial Commonwealth. By Gwendolen Carter.

IPR PUBLICATIONS

A few of the more important studies which have been published under IPR auspices are listed below. (A complete catalog of volumes now in print may be obtained from the International Secretariat.)

Far East: General

The State of Asia. By Lawrence K. Rosinger and others. (1951)
Asia and the West. By Maurice Zinkin. (1951)
American Policy in the Chinese Revolution, 1925-1928. By Dorothy Borg. (1947)
America's Far Eastern Policy. By T. A. Bisson. (1945)
British Economic Interests in the Far East. By E. M. Gull. (1943)
Post-war Worlds. By Percy M. Corbett. (1942)
British Rule in Eastern Asia. By Lennox A. Mills. (1942)
Economic Survey of the Pacific Area. By Karl Pelzer and others. 3 vols. (1941-42)
The Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries. By Norman MacKenzie and others. (1937)
Commodity Control in the Pacific Area. Edited by W. L. Holland. (1935)
Trade and Trade Barriers in the Pacific. By Philip Wright. (1935)
Empire in the East. By Joseph Barnes and others. (1934)
Problems of the Pacific. Proceedings of IPR Conferences. (1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1936, 1939)

China

The Goverment and Politics of China. By Chien Tuan-sheng. (1950)
Manchuria since 1931. By F. C. Jones. (1949)

China's Economic Stabilization and Reconstruction. By D. K. Lieu. (1948)
Old China Hands and the Foreign Office. By Nathan A. Pelcovits. (1948)
China: The Land and the People. By Gerald F. Winfield. (1948)
Chinese Family and Society. By Olga Lang. (1946)
China's Wartime Politics, 1937-1944. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. (1944)
Banking and Finance in China. By Frank M. Tamagna. (1942)
The Struggle for North China. By George E. Taylor. (1940)
Land Utilization in China. By J. Lossing Buck. (1937)
Essays on the Manchurian Problem. By Shuhsi Hsu. (1932)
Land and Labor in China. By R. H. Tawney. (1932)
Symposium on Chinese Culture. By Sophia C. Zen and others. (1932)

Japan and Korea

The Occupation of Japan: Second Phase. By Robert A. Fearey. (1950)
Korea Today. By George M. McCune. (1950)
The Western World and Japan. By G. B. Sansom. (1950)
Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction. By Jerome S. Cohen. (1949)
Modern Korea. By Andrew J. Grajdanzev. (1944)
Japanese Industry: Its Recent Development and Present Condition. By G. C. Allen. (1940)
Government in Japan. By C. B. Fahs. (1940)
Japan's Emergence as a Modern State. By E. Herbert Norman. (1940)
Small Industries of Japan. By T. Uyeda and others. (1938)
Western Influences on Modern Japan. By I. Nitobe and others. (1931)

South and Southeast Asia

The Chinese in Southeast Asia. By Victor Purcell. (1951)
India and the United States. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. (1950)
The Left Wing in Southeast Asia. By Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. (1950)
Colonial Policy and Practice. By J. S. Furnivall. (1948)
Malay Fishermen. By Raymond Firth. (1946)

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH INDOCHINA. By Charles Robequain. (1944)

THE STRUCTURE OF NETHERLANDS INDIAN ECONOMY. By J. H. Boeke. (1942)

GOVERNMENT AND NATIONALISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Rupert Emerson and others. (1942)

MODERN BURMA. By John L. Christian. (1942)

CRISIS IN THE PHILIPPINES. By Catherine Porter. (1942)

THE CHINESE IN THAILAND. By Kenneth P. Landon. (1941)

THAILAND, THE NEW SIAM. By Virginia Thompson. (1941)

UTILISATION DU SOL EN INDOCHINE FRANCAISE. By Pierre Gourou. (1940)

FILIPINO IMMIGRATION. By Bruno Lasker. (1931)

South Pacific

LAND UTILIZATION IN AUSTRALIA. By S. Wadham and G. L. Wood. (1950)

ANATOMY OF PARADISE. By J. C. Furnas. (1948)

GUAM AND ITS PEOPLE. By Laura Thompson. (1947)

HAWAII'S JAPANESE. By Andrew Lind. (1946)

THE MAKING OF MODERN NEW GUINEA. By Stephen Reed. (1943)

THE SOUTH SEAS IN THE MODERN WORLD. By Felix M. Keesing. (1941)

LABOR PROBLEMS IN THE PACIFIC MANDATES. By John A. Decker. (1940)

THE MAORI PEOPLE TODAY. By I. L. G. Sutherland. (1940)

AUSTRALIAN STANDARDS OF LIVING. By F. W. Eggleston and others. (1939)

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATION IN NEW ZEALAND. By Horace Belshaw and others. (1936)

AUSTRALIA AND THE FAR EAST. Edited by I. Clunies Ross. (1936)

Direct gift (J)

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

The American IPR, the largest of the Institute's National Councils, is a non-profit, non-partisan organization with headquarters in New York and a branch in Honolulu. Its stated objective is "to promote the study of the problems of the peoples and nations of the Pacific area." Membership is open to anyone though voting rights are restricted to American citizens. The present membership numbers about 1,100, and consists of business men, journalists, teachers, government officials, community leaders and others interested in contemporary Far Eastern problems. The American IPR takes no position on political issues and takes no part in "action" movements, but seeks to furnish reliable information and to provide a forum for different points of view.

The American IPR is governed by a Board of Trustees, numbering about sixty and drawn from various sections of the country. They are elected for three-year terms (one-third every year) by an annual ballot of the members. The Trustees meet annually and elect the officers of the organization and the members of the Executive Committee, which meets periodically and supervises the work of the staff. (The officers of the American IPR are listed on the inside front cover and the Trustees on pages 2-3).

The principal activities of the American IPR consist of publishing the *Far Eastern Survey*, a fortnightly review of current events and problems in the Far East; holding meetings, with distinguished speakers and discussion, for leading business men in New York and Hawaii; holding special conferences and study groups on Far Eastern affairs and problems of U. S. policy; publishing books, pamphlets and reading lists for the use of schools, colleges and the general public; and, in numerous ways, promoting the study and discussion of Far Eastern problems, often in cooperation with universities, adult education groups, and other agencies. The American IPR also takes an active part in the Institute's international program of research and conferences.

IPR LEADERS ABROAD

Prominent non-Americans who have actively aided in the work of the IPR

RT. HON. A. V. ALEXANDER, former Minister of Defense, Great Britain
DR. HORACE BELSHAW, Professor of Economics, Victoria College, Wellington, New Zealand
R. J. F. BOYER, Australian Broadcasting Commission
K. P. CHEN, President, Shanghai Commercial Bank, China
DR. CHIANG MON-LIN, former Minister of Education, China
RT. HON. ARTHUR CREECH-JONES, former Minister of Colonies, Great Britain
LIONEL CURTIS, All Souls College, Oxford
J. W. DAFOE, former Editor, *Winnipeg Free Press,* Canada
SIR FREDERIC EGGLESTON, former Australian Ambassador to the United States
PIERRE GOUROU, Professor of Geography, Sorbonne, Paris
DR. HU SHIH, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States
JUNNOSUKE INOUYE, former Premier of Japan
VISCOUNT K. ISHII, former member, House of Peers, Japan
SIR MOHAMMED ZAFRULLAH KHAN, Foreign Minister, Pakistan
PANDIT H. N. KUNZRU, Servants of India Society, India
K. C. LI, Wah Chang Trading Co., New York
YOSHISABURO MATSUKATA, General Manager, Kyodo News Agency, Japan
SIR ANDREW MCFADYEAN, President, Liberal Party, Great Britain
WALTER NASH, former Finance Minister, New Zealand
DR. INAZO NITOBE, former member, House of Peers, Japan
MRS. VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT, Indian Ambassador to the United States
ARCHIBALD ROSE, British American Tobacco Co.
HON. NEWTON W. ROWELL, former President of the Privy Council, Canada
ALBERT SARRAUT, former Premier of France
HON. W. DOWNIE STEWART, former Minister of Defense, New Zealand
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, Director of Studies, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Great Britain
SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, former President, Indian Legislative Assembly
W. W. YEN, former Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.

IPR PERIODICALS

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

International quarterly review of the Far East and Pacific area published by the International Secretariat. Includes authoritative analyses of Far Eastern developments by authors representing most European and Pacific countries, critical bibliographies and a comprehensive book review section. $4.00 a year. $1.00 a copy.

FAR EASTERN SURVEY

Fortnightly review published by the American Institute of Pacific Relations. Provides prompt and accurate analyses of current developments in the Far East with authoritative articles on economic, social and political trends in the countries of the Pacific. $6.00 a year. 25 cents a copy.

FAR EAST DIGEST

Summaries of current U. S. and foreign periodical material on the Far East published by the International Secretariat. Mimeographed. $2.50 a year. 25 cents a copy.

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